

How do we accomplish regime change in Iraq given the complexities and challenges of the current regional environment? The deep Israeli-Palestinian conflict continues; our relations with Syria are proper though strained; we have no relationship with Iran; Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Jordan have warned us about dangerous unintended consequences if we take unilateral military action against Iraq; and Afghanistan remains a piece of very difficult unfinished business, an unpredictable but critical investment for the United States and our allies.

I can think of no historical case where the United States succeeded in an enterprise of such gravity and complexity as regime change in Iraq without the support of a regional and international coalition. We have a lot of work to do on the diplomatic track. Not just for military operations against Iraq, should that day come, but for the day after, when the interests and intrigues of outside powers could undermine the fragility of an Iraqi government in transition, whoever governs in Iraq after Saddam Hussein.

An American military operation in Iraq could require a commitment in Iraq that could last for years and extend well beyond the day of Saddam's departure. The American people need to understand the political, economic, and military magnitude and risks that would be inevitable if we invaded Iraq.

There was no such national dialogue or undertaking before we went into Vietnam. There were many very smart, well intentioned professionals, intellectuals, and strategists who assured us of a US victory in Vietnam at an acceptable cost. Well, eleven years, 58,000 dead, and the most humiliating defeat in our nation's history later we abandoned South Vietnam to the Communists.

Let me conclude by saying that I support regime change and a democratic transition in Iraq. That's easy. The Iraqi people have suffered too long, and our security and interests will never be assured with Saddam Hussein in power. The tough questions are when, how, with whom, and at what cost. I look forward to the testimony of our witnesses over the next two days on these critical questions.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about hate crimes legislation I introduced with Senator KENNEDY in March of last year. The Local Law Enforcement Act of 2001 would add new categories to current hate crimes legislation sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred July 16, 2000 in San Diego, CA. Seven teenage boys, ages 14 to 17, attacked five elderly Latino migrant workers. The boys chased, beat, and shot at migrants living in a makeshift encampment in an isolated canyon. Ethnic slurs were used during the attack. The boys were charged with hate crimes, assault, robbery, and elder abuse in connection with the incident.

I believe that government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2001 is now a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation and

changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.

AFGHANISTAN FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act is similar to H.R. 3994, sponsored by the Chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Congressman HYDE. The House of Representatives passed this bill on May 16 by a vote of 390-22.

The Afghan Freedom Support Act comments the United States to the democratic and economic development of Afghanistan. In addition to the economic and political assistance found in Title I of the legislation, Title II seeks to enhance the stability and security of Afghanistan and the region by authorizing military assistance to the Afghan government and to certain other countries in the region, including assistance for counter narcotics, crime control and police training.

The United States must stay actively engaged in helping Afghanistan through a very dangerous and difficult transition to stability, security, and, ultimately, democratic government. We are at the beginning of a long process. We cannot be distracted or deterred from this objective. Our credibility, our word, and our security are directly linked to success in Afghanistan. And there cannot be political stability and economic development in Afghanistan without security.

This legislation authorizes \$2.5 billion over 4 years for economic and democratic development assistance for Afghanistan. This amount includes Senator LUGAR's proposal for a \$500 million enterprise fund to promote job creation and private sector development. In addition, S. 2712 authorizes up to \$300 million in drawdown authority for military and other security assistance.

This legislation includes a Sense of the Congress resolution, at the initiative of Senator BIDEN, which urges the President to commit the full weight of the United States to expand the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) beyond Kabul. The resolution calls for \$1 billion to support ISAF expansion for FY 2003 and FY 2004, if the President makes that call.

The main elements of the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act are as follows:

It authorizes continued efforts to address the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan and among Afghan refugees in neighboring countries;

It also authorizes resources to help the Afghan government fight the production and flow of illicit narcotics;

It assists efforts to achieve a broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive, and fully representative government in Afghanistan;

It supports strengthening the capabilities of the Afghan Government to develop projects and programs that meet the needs of the Afghan people;

It supports the reconstruction of Afghanistan through creating jobs, clearing landmines, and rebuilding the agriculture sector, the health care system, and the educational system of Afghanistan; and

It provides resources to the Ministry for Women's Affairs of Afghanistan to carry out its responsibilities for legal advocacy, education, vocational training, and women's health programs.

This legislation also strongly urges the President to designate within the State Department an ambassadorial-level coordinator to oversee and implement these programs and to advance United States interests in Afghanistan, including coordination with other countries and international organizations with respect to assistance to Afghanistan.

In general, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act provides a constructive, strategic framework for our Afghan policy, and flexible authority for the President to implement it.

Let me add that this legislation is explicitly and strongly committed to increasing the participation of women in Afghan politics. One of the "principles of assistance" of this bill states that "Assistance should increase the participation of women at the national, regional, and local levels in Afghanistan, wherever feasible, by enhancing the role of women in decision-making processes, as well as by providing support for programs that aim to expand economic and educational opportunities and health programs for women and educational and health programs for girls."

We must not allow the Afghan government of President Karzai to unwind. The United States must make the necessary investment of resources to help stabilize and secure Afghanistan in order to support a democratic transition there. This bill addresses an urgent need. It is critical to America's security interest in Afghanistan and Central Asia. If Afghanistan goes backward, this will be a defeat for our war on terrorism, for the people desiring freedom in Afghanistan and in Central Asia, and for America symbolically in the world. This defeat would undermine the confidence in America's word around the world. Afghanistan is the first battle in our war on terrorism. We must not fail.

TRIBUTE TO MARY JANE SMALL

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the work of the Senate would be impossible were it not for the talents and tireless efforts of our staffs. These are the men and women who serve behind the scenes, with few expectations of reward save for the opportunity to make a difference.

I would like to take a moment to acknowledge a member of my staff who has worked for me on behalf of the people of West Virginia for 25 years. Mary Jane Small joined my staff on August 1, 1977. I was Majority Leader at the time.